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FROM : Amconsul THESSALONIKI DATE: Oct. 18, 1963

SUBJECT: PAPANDREOU's Thessaloniki Speech of October 13, 1963

REF :

Attached is an abridged version of the speech delivered by CU leader George PAPANDREOU in Thessaloniki on October 13, 1963.

In summary, the speech may be divided into the following major sections:

1. Initial opening claim of victory for "democracy."
2. Refutation item by item of the CARAMANLIS attack on the CU.
3. Attack on the Caramanlis foreign and domestic policies.
4. Statement of the CU program (of which he said more would be revealed later)
   a. Democracy
   b. Enlightened administration
   c. Resurrection of education
   d. Increased salaries for the judiciary
   e. Tax relief
   f. Aid to farmers -- security prices, lower production costs, fair settlement of debts, relief from contributions to farmers' pension program
5. Appeal to the "honest followers of ERE," the "fellow travelers of EDA," intellectuals and youth to join the CU.

Encl: Mr. Papandreou's Speech in Thessaloniki, Oct. 13, 1963

Robert S. Folsom
Consul General

12-3-63 R/M/R - file action instructed

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Drafted by: RSFolsom:bck 10/18/63

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Daily "Thessaloniki"
October 14, 1963

MR. PAPANDREOU'S SPEECH IN THESSALONIKI, OCTOBER 13, 1963

(Abridged)

People of Northern Greece!

Democracy has won. In his speech of last Sunday in Thessaloniki, the leader of ERE said that Thessaloniki has given its judgement on the present electoral campaign. He was right. Thessaloniki has decided on the campaign today. Democracy has won. It was not my intention to deal with the past as there has been an appraisal of the past. My intention was to speak to the people of Thessaloniki about the future, but the leader of ERE has challenged me and I have to give a reply to him. The leader of ERE spoke in a violent and insulting manner against the Center Union because he realizes he has already been defeated. We shall reply to him calmly, knowing that we are going to be the winners of this struggle.

A Revolution of Moral Values. The leader of ERE said in Thessaloniki that he is the only one to guarantee democracy. This has caused much national hilarity. He had to admit, on the other hand, before the people here that he had succumbed to our ruthless campaign. When our campaign was begun, the leader of ERE mockingly said this was to be a failure as we were not dynamic enough to make a revolution. We come now to reply that we truly lacked the material means, but we were able to inspire the people of Greece, all the democratic people, and Greek youth to enthusiasm for democracy, and we won. We thus proved that it is not only the material forces which count in life, but that there are the moral forces which can prevail, and these constitute the glory of the ruthless campaign.

The leader of ERE has accused us of not being lawful. Our reply here is that when a lawful government is lawful, the opposition must be lawful too. But when the government is not lawful, then the opposition must become a dynamic or a political movement depending on the conditions. Worthy democratic people stand up and fight. They are inspired by article 114 of the Constitution.

Caramanlis' Threats. Speaking to the people of Thessaloniki, the leader of ERE dared to threaten that he will reform the Constitution in order to restrict the people's freedoms. We also plan to revise the Constitution --- not in order to impose restrictions, but to safeguard the freedoms of the people, to safeguard self-government, and to protect the civil rights of the people. The leader of ERE also dared to threaten me personally for a second time. He knows how little I care about his threats. In my long public life,

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I have had the privilege of being persecuted by imprisonment and exile by all illiberal regimes of internal or foreign occupation. I would welcome this again as it would unmask the leader of ERE and reveal him as he really desires to be, a true tyrant. However, this cannot happen because on November 4 he will have to give a word to others.

A State of Decline. Speaking to the people of Thessaloniki, the leader of ERE said he had made generous offers to the opposition, while our party's policy is blackmail. It is clear that the ERE leader suffers from crises of megalomania and panic. He likes to speak as an absolute monarch who makes concessions to his subjects. We never asked for anything from the leader of ERE and we never used blackmail. All we want is an honest administration and honest elections. If our claim for just elections is considered as blackmailing, this reflects the state of decline to which this country has come.

The Police and the Army. The leader of ERE said that we have slandered and deteriorated the various institutions of the country. We respect all these institutions while the abusers of powers have shaken them. We have a respect for Greek justice which proved, particularly during the recent period, to be worthy of the confidence of the people. We respect the armed forces, while the ERE people have tried to make them tools of their party. We have respect for the police and the gendarmerie which have offered great sacrifices to the nation. If there are some individuals in the police who were at fault, the responsibility is theirs and not of the entire police corps. We are sure that the conscience of all the members of the police and the armed forces wants the punishment of those who were at fault in order to eliminate all misunderstandings. We have a respect for the police and are aware of their just claims which are pending for so long now. We have promised and we renew our promise to satisfy their claims.

The King and the Center. The leader of ERE said further that we have slandered the King. The leader of ERE has no right to say this, since he is the one who was given all the favors. We have never asked and shall never ask for any kind of favor. The only favor we want is the favor of the people. We want the King to be the King of all the Greeks. With the same sincerity with which we demanded of the King that he dismiss the illegal government, we wish to declare now that by the formation of a truly caretaker government, like the present one, which is really organizing honest elections, the King has contributed greatly towards the restoration of normal life in the country, a thing which now finds full recognition in the hearts of the democratic people.

The Terrorist Organizations. The government of ERE and the leader of ERE are not only responsible for the electoral coup. Since that time they have been violating our political system. In their effort to organize their one-party state, they formed terrorist teams of collaborationists and crooks whose work was to interfere with the free expression of the peoples' will. This is their historical responsibility. The crime of Thessaloniki is the result of dishonest cooperation of the police with the terrorists.

We have always declared that the entire responsibility with regard to the crime lies with those who allowed the organization of the terrorists, and since the Government of ERE, as the top authority in the country, permitted the organizing of terrorist groups, they are responsible for all the crimes committed by these crooks in the country.

Who Defames the Country? The country is not defamed by those who reveal the truth, but by those who commit crimes. Bargaining has been a permanent practice during the times of ERE. The fumes of the ERE scandals are suffocating. The wealth of the relatives of ERE officials has become a daily challenge to the people. At one time the leader of ERE suddenly proposed that the Parliament pass a bill calling for an investigation of the property of all political persons. This was only a rocket since nothing happened since. No one knows anything about the secret funds and the scandals of the various contracts on projects. There will come a day, with your decision, to find out about all these things and to impose sanctions.

The Foreign Policy. The ERE government is also responsible for the poor handling of foreign policy. The people have never stopped thinking about the treason of Cyprus. The people gave no amnesty on this issue, because the 1961 elections gave no genuine majority to ERE. The ERE government went bankrupt on all foreign issues. The Greeks of Egypt are sighing because of the superficial handling of their problems by ERE. This party has also created adventures in our relations in the Balkans and with the allies. Also ERE is responsible on the issue of aid and military expenditures. The right judgement of the ERE foreign policy would be: incompetence, subordination.

The...Economic Miracle of ERE. The contentions of the leader of ERE about prosperity may mislead people abroad, but they cannot be accepted by Greeks who have personal knowledge that during the ERE period wealthy people became wealthier and poor became poorer. The leader of ERE has boasted about his economic miracle. There are four objectives in a real economic policy: to increase the national income, to make a just distribution of the national income, to give work to the people and to prepare the country for the common market. Has the leader of ERE been successful in any of these objectives?

Emigration a National Disaster. An open gathering is not the place to analyze economic figures. We all know, however, that the desertion of villages, the dwindling of provincial areas, the swarming of the large towns with youngsters, and primarily the hemorrhage of migration, are the work of ERE. About half a million people, representing the healthiest forces of the country, have left Greece during the 8 years ERE has been in the government. During the current year more than 100,000 people will leave the country, while the increase of the population is going to be only 85,000. This is the glory and the shame of the leader of ERE. We address ourselves to this half million of young emigrants and promise them we shall create opportunities in the country to bring them back to their fatherland.

Democracy the First Pledge. The Center Union is no negation, and I am sorry the leader of ERE has challenged me to deal with the past. My desire is to deal with the future. In the other speeches, I shall analyze the program

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of the Center Union. Today I will only give some general lines of this program. The first great promise of the Center Union is called "Democracy." This promise alone could be a complete program for the coming elections. In the countries of the West, political democracy is taken for granted. The calamity of ERE has made it necessary for us to struggle for political democracy and for freedom of the people. We promise democracy, equality and freedom to all the people. We also promise sound practices in our public life.

An Enlightened Administration. A wind of revolution will blow in administration and education. Under the present bureaucracy Greece will vanish. We have to organize an enlightened and modern administration. Only highly educated people will be hired by the state. We shall create an honest administration. Those holding top positions in administration will not be permanent, but on short term assignment, as is the case with the nomarchs. It is not to be tolerated that the same person be the head of one administrative branch for a generation. A renewal is necessary. There will be a revolution in our administration system.

A Resurrection in Education. Education has been my passion for many years. Education is the best investment. Finally, last week the leader of ERE realized that priority must be given to the issue of education. But we have already lost 8 valuable years and education is known to be a long-term plan.

We wish to review here our old plan for education. We promise to all young men that education will be free. If education becomes a costly proposition, this is no democracy but a plutocracy. Scholarships will be given by the state to the best students of all fields.

Greek Justice. We wish to pay tribute to Greek justice. This has proven to be one of the bulwarks of democracy. The state should extend material assistance to all members of the judicial branch, if the latter are to fulfill their duties at all times. The salaries of this branch will be significantly increased so the members of the courts will be free from the worries of everyday life. Young members of the courts will be given opportunities for advanced training.

The Heavy Taxation. The middle and lower classes will be relieved of pressing taxation. When the leader of ERE took over, the budget's income was 12 billion drachmas; now this is 26 billion.

For the Greek Farmer. Absolute priority will be given to the right claims of the farmers because the farmers are more than half the population of the country, because the farmers suffer more than any other class (the income of the mountainous population is not even one fifth the income in the capital), because the prosperity of the farmers means prosperity for the big towns, and because if the farmers should lose their faith in the nation, Greece will be lost.

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Among other aims the Center Union's program for the farmers includes: (1) Timely announcing of security prices for agricultural products. (2) Assistance to farmers to achieve lower production costs. (3) A fair settlement of the farmers debts. Only now the leader of ERE has remembered that this question has to be faced, and he gave some vague promises again in order to make the farmers the slaves of his party. We promise to abolish all demurrage interests and to amortize over a long period of time the present debts at very low interests. (4) The ERE government, applying our plan for pensions to farmers, imposed withholdings on the income of all farmers. Thus, the pension system became a curse to the farmers. We promise to abolish any contributions the farmers have to pay for their pension scheme.

A Turning Point in our History. There are other points in the economic program of the Center Union which we shall have the opportunity to present in other towns.

This is a crucial moment in Greek political history. This is the time to judge whether there is going to be democracy in the country or whether democracy will be abolished. The Center Union promises a change, it promises honesty, political democracy and social democracy. With the courage of our democratic people, we shall have free elections.

To the Fonest Followers of ERE. This group believed in the myth that ERE meant stability in the country and that ERE can make works. The truth is that there was government stability, but at the same time there was a political breach (crisis). Under the surface of government stability, an explosion was created. Projects were made to impress the people, and resulted in waste of funds and in corruption.

Our Relations with EDA. I want now to address myself to EDA, and firstly to reply to the leader of ERE, who insists that we cooperate with EDA. He certainly feels this is necessary to him. If Communism were to disappear from Greece, the leader of ERE would be inconsolable. He needs to monopolize patriotism. We do not care to reply even to his accusation that we cooperate with EDA. The leader of ERE is not entitled to give us lessons of patriotism. He was absent from all struggles of the nation while we were always present. We belong to the glorious front of the democratic world which created greater Greece. He was always a deserter in all national struggles. The Center Union is cooperating with no one but depends on its own flag.

EDA is comprised of two categories of people, the orthodox Communists and the democratic fellow-travelers. We are not speaking to the Communists. They belong to a different world which has its long-term targets. We address ourselves to the democratic fellow-travelers to tell them that they have taken the wrong direction. The fellow-travelers of EDA want democracy and it is clearly a mistake on their part to seek it in the communism of EDA. Democracy you find here in the Center Union, and we are inviting all these people, in the presence of everyone, in the name of history, to join

our flag. The right place for them is here for one more reason. It is certain that EDA can form no government. Yet, it is certain too that, by voting for EDA, they facilitate ERE in forming a government since they deprive the Center Union of forces which would naturally belong to it. We invite all fellow-travelers of EDA to come under our honest flag of democracy --- of real democracy.

The Intellectual Leadership. We also address ourselves to the intellectuals of the country calling them to be recruited in our struggle. The struggle for democracy is neither a personal nor a party struggle. It is a national issue. All those who feel they can take part in the leadership of the country bear full responsibility to join this struggle in order to save democracy.

To the Young People of Greece. I wish to express my gratitude to you. Thanks to your efforts, we have secured the victory. The ruthless campaign has been your work. You should inspire confidence in the people of the provincial areas. You should terrorize the terrorists. Go out and preach the gospel of democracy. Joyful messages are coming from all over the place. Democracy has won.

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